I Take My Stand

By Rev. Chas. E. Coughlin



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PREAMBLE

All week long the daily papers and news reels—particularly those in the East—have been headlining and screening a fantastic story of an alleged seditious plot to overthrow the Government of the United States.

In all, 18 young men were taken prisoners by the agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation; and one was released. Although Mr. J. Edgar Hoover and his colleagues were careful to describe them as members of two distinct rifle clubs, nevertheless, the press of the nation saw fit to identify all of them with the Christian Front, thereby placing that organization and those who sponsored and encouraged it on trial before the bar of public opinion. Definitely, they were not all members of the Christian Front.

Mayor LaGuardia of New York properly ridiculed the entire affair as ludicrous.

Some public officials intimated that the Government was playing politics with the Department of Justice.

"The Detroit Free Press" humorously remarked that "If they (the G-men) had only added a couple of those Daisy air rifles (to their seizure), they (the prisoners) might have captured Canada, too," and then added in a more serious vein: "... the great plot to seize America will go down in the funny books of history to be written about the New Deal long after the headaches of it are over—to keep company with Mr. Roosevelt's daily reports last summer of finding fleets of U-boats off our coast every time he looked out of his window."

Be this as it may, I do not regard this episode so lightly; for the implications which attend it impel me to take a more serious view in so far as my name has been linked adroitly to this "plot" to overthrow the Government.

Thus, I appear before you today to record the fact that while I do not belong to any unit of the Christian Front, nevertheless, I do not disassociate myself from that movement. Therefore, I reaffirm every word which I have said in advocating its formation; I re-encourage the Christians of America to carry on in this crisis for the preservation of Christianity and Americanism more vigorously than ever, despite this thinly veiled campaign launched by certain publicists and their controllers to vilify both the name and the principles of this pro-American, pro-Christian, anti-Communist and anti-Nazi group.

I

According to the "New York Times" of January 15th, the 17 prisoners "were charged with conspiring (1) to overthrow and destroy the Government of the United States, (2) to oppose by force of arms the authority of the United States Government, and (3) to seize and take possession of property of the United States."

That is the language employed by this paper—language clear and concise expressing charges originating with the United States Government itself.

If these 17 young men so conspired, it matters little whether they were 17 or 17 million; for by such plotting they have merited the unmitigated penalty of the law. But if such charges cannot be substantiated, the 17 Federal prisoners, together with the members and friends of the Christian Front, deserve official exoneration.

In so far as the public press—not the Department of Justice—has placed the Christian Front on trial, insinuating that it is a radical movement and asserting that it is composed entirely of crack-pots—I take my stand beside the Christian Fronters. Recognizing also that in one sense the opposition to Communism is on trial, I freely choose to be identified as a friend of the accused. It matters not whether they be guilty or innocent; be they ardent followers of the principles of Christianity or the betrayers of them, my place is by their side until they are released or convicted.

There I take my stand.

II

The major charge against these prisoners is that of sedition—plotting to overthrow the Government of the United States. Minor charges have been given publicity, chief of which is that this group, together with all the members of the Christian Front, stand for anti-Semitism. So much effort has been made to emphasize this latter charge that the impression is now created in the minds

of millions of newspaper readers and radio listeners that the arrest of certain individuals belonging to this group of Christians will prove to be a benediction because it will result "in the liquidation of Father Coughlin and his followers" who are represented as the chief anti-Semites in America.

Bearing out this point is a typical editorial appearing in the "Baltimore Sun" of Tuesday, January 16th. It reads, in part, as follows:

"If it transpires at the trial that their alleged treasonable activities were stimulated even in part by too much listening to the harangues of Father Coughlin, that information, too, will have its value."

"The Daily News" of New York, in its editorial of the same date, states:

"The F. B. I.'s arrests do reflect, perhaps, a growing feeling of anti-Semitism that has been profitably and enthusiastically promoted by such soap-boxers as Father Coughlin. If, in proportion to the total population of the country, these peculiar young men do represent a movement for militant action against those whose racial or religious affiliations they dislike, then this movement should naturally be checked before it spreads."

Judging from these and similar editorials, one might suspect that the main charges of sedition were only incidental; and that the main purpose in jailing these youths and in smearing the name of the Christian Front was to use the majesty of the state not only to put down anti-Semitism but to nip in the bud ideas which are repugnant to those in high places.

Corroborating all this is a movement now in progress in the House of Representatives to cashier the Dies Committee, not expressly because it has been hostile to the Communists and their fellow travelers, but because its Chairman was, purportedly, friendly to the Christian Front.

When the speedy trial of these youths on the main charge of sedition to overthrow the Government will be held before an American jury, may truth and justice prevail!

If a Bundist or a Nazi, like a Judas Iscariot, insinuated himself into the ranks of the Christian Front—against which I have warned often—let his identity be disclosed.

If these young men preached or practiced hatred for Jews because they are Jews—against which likewise I have warned—let that charge be proven and punished.

But if, in their commendable zeal, these men—or the majority of them—organized to stand stalwart against the incursions of Communism which threaten our Christianity, our Godliness and our patriotism, opposing constitutionally only those persons, independent of racial or religious characteristics, who espouse the principles of Communism, let that truth be presented to their credit.

III

This address, then, is designed by me not to wash my hands, Pontius Pilate-like, of the Christian Front and its members, be they in jail or out of jail. It is designed not to attempt to exonerate John Cassidy and his companions or to find them guilty; that is the business of the Federal courts. But it is designed to notify those responsible for Mr. Hoover's descent upon a group of Christian young men—among whom, possibly, there was at least one borer-from-within—that the real Christians of this nation will not beat a retreat.

And why will we not beat a retreat? Because the Christians of America are asking themselves this question: "Why did not Attorney-General Murphy and Mr. Hoover swoop down months ago upon the Communist organizations whose leaders, publicly and admittedly, proposed to overthrow this Government?

Why will we not beat a retreat? Because the real patriots of America are asking themselves this further question: "Following the publication of the Dies Report, why did Attorney-General Murphy and Mr. Hoover fail to apprehend the 2,000 or more Communists working in the public buildings at Washington almost under their very eyes—members of an organization foresworn to overturn this Government; foresworn to drag Christ down from His cross, expel Him from our churches, ostracize Him from our schools and public institutions and, according to the pattern of the Spanish Loyalists, crucify Him again in the hearts of our citizens?"

These 2,000 belong to no Christian Front, I assure you, and they have not been apprehended or even expelled from their Government positions.

IV

When I encouraged and still encourage the formation of a Christian Front, I did not stand alone in doing so, for the Christian Front movement was endorsed by many thousands of decent citizens who were and are heartsick as a result of the unimpeded and cultured growth of Communism in this nation over a period of years.

Did the prejudiced press of America state that fact in its effort to put on public trial not 17 members of Rifle Clubs, but a group of Christians organized to combat Communism?

Emphasizing that the Christian Front movement was sponsored and approved by many decent citizens, pause to note what one of them—Bishop Noll of Fort Wayne, Indiana—wrote in "Social Justice" magazine of August 8, 1938, as well as in his own "Sunday Visitor." His Excellency said:

"Not only should Catholics speak out fearlessly and unceasingly against enemies of God and country, but they should heed the appeal of Pope Pius XI, and invite all others, similarly minded, to join with them in creating a United Christian Front against these enemies, and for the promotion of a Christian order of Society. Such is their evident duty as followers of Christ, and particularly as soldiers in the worldwide army of Christ, as members of His Mystical Body, through which each is interested in the spiritual welfare of all others and, with them, interested in crystallizing loyalty to their common Head.

"Monsignor Fulton Sheen, Father Coughlin and other Catholic clergymen who have the ear of the people—no matter whether their views be identical or not in relation to certain measures designed to promote the economic good of the American people—have advocated, and are advocating, a united Christian Front. 'Our Sunday Visitor' . . . appeals to you individually, and as members of your respective parishes, to lend your support in your own communities to the defense and advocacy of those Christian principles which are fundamental to Christianity and to a healthy state of civil society."

Did the prejudiced press find room to print the principles which, as far as I know, dominate the Christian Front—principles which I broadcast over this microphone on July 30, 1939? To refresh their memory, I said on that day to the Christian Fronters:

"Gentlemen of the Christian Front, since you have adopted a name that was hallowed in the poverty of Bethlehem, made glorious in the streets of Nazareth and on the temple steps at Jerusalem; since you have chosen to designate yourselves by His name Whose hands clasped the nails, Whose brow bore the crown of thorns and Whose lacerated body was sealed in a tomb from which He arose immortal, bear in mind that He is the Prince of Peace.

[&]quot;He came not to destroy but to perfect. He dwelt amongs:

us not to teach the doctrine of subjugation and slavery but the gospel of liberty and brotherhood. It was His lips that pronounced the counsel of 'love one another.' It was His voice that sounded the warning that 'they who use the sword shall perish by the sword.'

"Therefore, gentlemen of the Christian Front, before your spokesmen ascend the rostra to discuss Americanism and Christianity, model your speech after the Sermon on the Mount. If you are assailed or assaulted, be mindful that when He was spat upon, condemned, stripped of His garments and lashed at the pillar of injustice, He suffered patiently.

"Recollect His admonition to 'render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's and to God the things that are God's.' Yea, even when you are arraigned before some Pontius Pilate and victimized by slander; when you are maligned and calumniated, be ye mindful that though you could summon ten legions of angels to your defense, you must not take the law into your own hands. You are not fighting against the law. You are organizing to protect the law and perfect the law.

"What though the modern scribes and pharisees term you 'Fascist'; what though they accuse you of stirring up the multitudes; what though they maintain that you consort with sinners—be they Nazi or anti-Semitic or what-not—were not more scurrilous epithets than these hurled at Jesus Christ?

"Gentlemen of the Christian Front, I am sadly conscious that in Germany an Adolf Hitler protested that his movement was in defense of Christianity. Beware of falling into his evil ways of assuming to yourselves the interpretation of Christianity and its practices; by perpetrating in its sacred name the excesses that are frowned upon by Christianity.

"Be ye Christians in the full sense of the word. The Crusaders of old were Christian Fronters when they repulsed the Mohammedan hordes. We saw, too, the brave Polish people establish the Christian Front. We saw it spring up in Italy. And we witnessed the activities of a Christian Front that was forced to defend the lives, the liberties and the properties of Spain against the invasion of the international Popular Bolshevik Front.

"Christianity, however, does not teach that you and your fellow citizens shall submit to any injustice which definitely aims at the destruction of the immortal souls of men. "Christianity does not teach that the Mystical Body of Christ shall submit to the mystical body of Satan.

"Christianity does not teach that a peaceful citizenry will surrender private properties, liberties and national culture to an unjust aggressor."

These were the principles and aims enunciated last July. These were, as far as I know, the principles and aims which were adopted.

Literally lifting the words following this quotation from their context, the Communist press intimated that the Christian Front was established to use the Franco way as a first resort rather than as a last resort.

Rather than give publicity to these statements, a clever campaign of indirect vilification was engaged in last week by public speakers and writers to make a Roman or, preferably, a Moscow holiday for those who still prefer Barabbas to the Victim of Calvary.

V (a)

No observant person questions the need of a Christian Front in America—a Christian Front for Jew and Gentile—lest there be imposed upon all of us a Popular Marxian Front. No informed person denies that the day for tolerance towards the Communist Front has passed.

In 1906, long before the Spanish Civil War broke out, Pius X addressed a letter to the Church of Spain, the contents of which are applicable to American Christians. On that occasion—thirty years before the revolution—he said: "All must remember that nobody has the right to remain indifferent, when religion or the public welfare are in danger. Those who strive to destroy religion and civil society aim above all at getting control, as far as possible, of the direction of public affairs and at having themselves elected legislators. It is therefore necessary that Christians should strive with all their might to avert that danger."...

In our days we have seen Christ scourged from our schools, His principles mocked in our courts, His enemies applauded in our labor unions, His counsels rejected in our industries and His enemies defended by our Government.

In our days we have witnessed, without hindrance from law, thousands of young Americans recruited to fight on the side of the Hammer and Sickle against the Cross of Christ, and drilled in the use of firearms as they prepared for their seditious attack upon the King of Creation.

In our days we became alarmed when President Roosevelt, in addressing an answer to Mr. Oumansky, the ambassador for godless Russia, said:

"It has given me deep satisfaction to hear from you of the feeling of genuine friendship which the peoples of the Soviet Union have for the American people, a feeling which you are assured is fully reciprocated.

"I have noted your statement that the purpose of your mission is to strengthen and develop friendly co-operation between our two countries. You may be sure that you will enjoy my full support, as well as every assistance of the Government of the United States in your efforts to achieve that purpose.

"I am grateful for the expression of good wishes which you have conveyed on behalf of your government. In return, please convey to the government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics my hope for the continued peace and prosperity of the Soviet Union."

Yes, as I re-read these words, the bleak winter winds carry to my ears the moans of those millions of Christians who, without official protest from our Government, were murdered by order of the rulers of the Soviet Union.

V (b)

And so, 17 young men, members of rifle clubs, are charged with sedition by the Government, while the press of the nation, inferentially, is charging with sedition the entire membership of the Christian Front.

If the Department of Justice and the newspapers are so solicitous for ferreting out sedition, let me call to their official attention this communistic case taken from the records of the Dies Committee, page 396, volume I. It reads as follows:

"The 'reds' appear to wield some strange but powerful influence in high circles, for they are able to squash investigations and efforts to prosecute members of their organizations who have been accused of sabotage. The case of the United States dirigible 'Akron' is a good example. Following an investigation in 1933, it was alleged that Paul Kassay,

an alien, had purposely refrained from placing needed rivets in the framework of the 'Akron' during its construction. Kassay had been working on the steel frame before his discharge. Shortly after this he was arrested in Ohio and charged with violation of the Ohio sedition law, at which time his bail and legal expense, amounting to over \$40,000, were raised by Communist forces. After his release he was not deported or rearrested, and he is still at large in the United States, although it has been reported Kassay admitted when apprehended by Department of Justice agents that he meant to see that the 'Akron' would never take the air. It did take the air, but the omission of rivets so weakened the structure that the giant dirigible crashed, killing most of the crew.

"Shortly before the 'Akron' disaster a Navy bombing plane crashed at San Diego, California, resulting in the death of a pilot. Subsequent investigation revealed that someone had weakened the wings so that eventually they would collapse. Kassay was employed in the plant in San Diego at the time of the construction of the plane.

"Kassay, it is alleged, admitted that he had led Communist uprisings in Austria-Hungary after the World War. A series of plane disasters began shortly before and after he had been apprehended in this country. (Mr.) Yetta Land, attorney, since then Communist candidate for office in Ohio, defended Kassay. The latter was tried only for the alleged violation of the Ohio criminal-syndicalism law, and this law was found to be unconstitutional."

Moreover, if a portion of the press of this nation were not so prejudiced, it would have corrected the original statements printed and picturized about the seizure of arms made one week ago today in the homes of the arrested members of the Christian Front and others.

Here is the suppressed and tortured truth:

Many newspapers printed a picture of the young marksmen in action, which was supposedly taken with a telescopic camera. According to the mother of one of the youths, this original picture was lifted from her son's dresser during the process of the raid.

And, according to the public press, Mr. Hoover's department issued a statement that 12 Springfield rifles were seized by his agents during the raids. Recognizing the seriousness of what I am about to say, I assert that the agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation either did not know what they were talking about, or

else the prejudiced press misreported the statements released to them. There were no 12 Springfield rifles seized.

What is my authority for this statement? None other than the United States Army, whose officers, according to a printed report, examined photographs of the firearms confiscated and found only two Springfield rifles and a motley assortment of other material, including outmoded guns whose proper place, at least for some of them, were in the Smithsonian Institute or over your grandfather's mantlepiece.

This corrected report, which came from men in the United States Army, appeared, as far as I know, only in "The Brooklyn Eagle."

Probably when it reached the desks of many other editors, they were inclined to whistle "The March of the Wooden Soldiers" or hum a melody from Gilbert and Sullivan's opera.

One biased newspaper, interested in peddling its prejudices to the fire-eating opponents of the Christian Front, preferred, however, to print these lines: (I refer to the "New York Daily News" of January 18, 1940.)

"Explosion destroys duPont factory . . . The Christian Front, anti-Semitic organization . . . was under suspicion."

VI

Widespread publicity was given to the cache of arms seized by the agents of Mr. J. Edgar Hoover and his superior, the Honorable Frank Murphy. For your information, this cache of arms was not found in one place. Rather, it was a collection of seizures made in the various houses and localities frequented by these 17 young men, not all of whom were members of the Christian Front.

Bear in mind, nearly all these young men belong to authorized gun clubs. Among the score or so of weapons seized from various homes, little publicity was given to the fact that they had not been stolen as reported; that four of them were .22 rifles such as youngsters use for target practice or for rat hunting; that one obsolete, rusty rifle had been used at the Battle of Manila years ago; that the sword was an heirloom from the Battle of Gettysburg; that two of the tin cans—dangerous weapons that they are—were used by an 18-year-old boy for developing pictures; and that the bayonet was an ancestral relic which some smart Aleck camera man or his collaborator tied to one of the ancient, war-worn weapons. The picture printed in the papers made interesting and profitable publicity—at the expense of facts and truth.

Nor was adequate publicity given to the fact that there are hundreds of authorized rifle clubs existing in America; that this was one of them, incorporated under a charter issued by the National Rifle Association under the name of "Park Slopes Pistol and Rifle Club"; that most of the usable rifles they had were issued by the National Rifle Association or purchased from authorized registered dealers; and that one of the officials appointed by the National Rifle Association was Mr. John Hanrahan, who is the actual head of the "Park Slopes Rifle Club."

The very silence on the part of the publicists to emphasize these facts, and their attempt to make the reading public believe that a forbidden, illegal cache of arms was found—as if it were in some secluded, hidden, secret place—displays the mentality and prejudice behind this entire journalistic account.

And we pause to wonder why the Federal Bureau of Investigation was so interested in investigating this particular rifle club to which belonged some members of a unit of the Christian Front, while no record of investigation has been headlined relative to the rifle clubs of the Communists and Nazis, the rifle units of the C. I. O., the rifle units of the Transport Workers. And yet these members of the "Park Slopes Rifle Club," some of whom, incidentally, were members of a unit of the Christian Front—not all of them—are accused by the Government of sedition; are accused of plotting to overthrow the Government of the United States; and to oppose by force of arms the authority of the United States Government.

If they are guilty, let them suffer the penalty of the law; if they are innocent, let them be freed.

No wonder that certain news journals whose editors endeavor to avoid prejudice and who resent being duped by propaganda—no wonder they regret that the Federal Bureau of Investigation with its admirable chieftain, J. Edgar Hoover, were used as a springboard from which was catapulted an attack upon the members of the Christian Front. They know that the Christian Front stands for God and country, even though a few crackpots, as they call them, found entrance into its ranks. They know that the Communists stand for anti-God and anti-country. And they also know, according to page 396, volume I, of the Dies Report, that Comrade Kassay—K-a-s-s-a-y, not C-a-s-e-y—who admitted that he would see that the "Akron" would never take the air, is a free, protected man in America today.

genuine Christian Front, modeled upon the principles of Christ and encouraged by the words of the Venerable Pontiff to whose writings I formerly referred—a Christian Front that is tolerant with saint and sinner, with Catholic, Protestant and Jew; but a Christian Front that is not tolerant with the propagation of ideologies of sedition or treachery aimed at the destruction either of our form of government or our Christian ideals.

At this juncture may I quote for public record what Leo XIII said about tolerance. He advised us "to cut off familiar intercourse not only with the openly wicked, but with those who hide their real character under the mask of universal tolerance... of the mania for reconciling the maxims of the gospel with those of the revolution, Christ with Belial, and the Church of God with the state without God." (Pope Leo XIII's Letter to the Italian People, December 8, 1892.)

When tolerance is so misinterpreted as to imply that we must shake hands with Satan, extend to him our friendship, become his bedfellow and sit back complacently while Communism is countenanced and protected in the highest and lowest circles of government, the courageous Christians of America will not be intimidated by name-calling such as "anti-Semitic" or by threats of investigation, or by a prejudiced press. And by no means am I including all newspapers in that category.

Meanwhile, recollecting the words of the Divine Master, namely, "I was in prison and you came to Me"; recollecting that, like St. Paul, these young men need not and would not let themselves down by a basket from their prison; for in America we still have, we trust, dependable courts of justice, we will visit these prisoners with our prayers, asking that they be tried on the charges leveled against them by the officials of the Federal Government. If they are guilty, let them be punished; if innocent, God speed their freedom!

We will remember that while they have been only charged with plotting to overturn government and to destroy government properties—we will remember that already it has been proven that Harry Bridges of West Coast fame, said: "We will see a day when we can sink those d—— battleships of the United States fleet because they are the enemy of the workers!"

Yes, we will recollect these words. We will recollect that Harry Bridges was not found guilty.

VIII

It was a happy coincidence when, last Sunday, I advertised the free distribution of a book entitled, "The Rulers of Russia"—

happy in the sense that the esteemed chieftain of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Mr. Hoover, is reported in "The New York Times" and other papers to have said, "It took only 23 men to overthrow Russia."

Possibly Mr. Hoover is correct. But behind these 23 men there was a history—a sordid history of czaristic persecution; an infamous history associated with the knout and the lash, with Siberia and its exile; a morbid history which recorded the sufferings of a propertyless citizenry exploited by their rulers.

Yes, possibly 23 men did overturn Russia's czaristic regime. Forget not, however, that they were aided and abetted by German and American international financialists, as well as by despotic social and economic conditions.

Forget not that the first revolution bred a second in Russia; one was but a preparation for the Bolshevism, the hatred, the red rivers of blood and the millions of massacred victims which followed.

Thanks be to God, the parallel does not obtain in America!

Who are the rulers of Russia? Who were responsible for perpetrating these crimes against God and civilization?

Let Reverend Denis Fahey, in whose veins there flows the same blood which flows in the majority of those prisoners now held at \$850,000 bail in the Federal detention prison—let him tell you.

The book is free to every person in this audience who writes to me requesting a copy thereof. And on reading it you will learn the real identity of the men who upturned Russia, converted it into a charnel house and dedicated it to the gospel of atheism.

IX

In conclusion, may I remind you that Judge Moscowitz imposed bail of \$50,000 each on these young men. Incidentally, the bail for Earl Browder was \$7,500.

Among the 16 or less Christian Front prisoners—I am positive that Mr. Bishop, or whatever his name is, is not one of the group—is one William H. Bushnell, Jr., whose forebears fought in every war since revolutionary days. It was his ancestors who gave to George Washington the first tea set imported from China into the United States of America. It was his ancestors who received from the Father of Our Country a courteous letter of unstinted gratitude, recognizing this gift. It was his ancestors who fought on the

field of Gettysburg. It was his ancestor's precious sword of Gettysburg days which was seized by Mr. Hoover and his agents. It was his ancestor, David Bushnell, who in 1776 originated and later improved the first submarine-torpedo in these United States and gave it—did not sell it—to our Government, which relic now rests enshrined, I suppose, on the Government property which this young man is charged with plotting to destroy.

I ask you, Christian Americans, is this family revolutionary and anti-American? Do you know of many other families in these United States bearing more memorable names? It hardly seems possible that a seditious Bushnell is the product of such sterling stock.

Beside the boy I take my stand—beside him and his fellow Christian Front prisoners, be they guilty or be they innocent!

Indeed, a priest can even walk to the gallows with a condemned man. Therefore as I walk—and as I take my stand—I pray that the Bushnell family and the incarcerated men will conduct themselves in the traditional Christian and American way—William Bushnell, Jr., John Cassidy, Michael Joseph Bierne, Macklin Boettger, Andrew Buckley, Claus Gunther Ernecke, John Franklin Cook, John A. Graf, Leroy Keegan, George Kelly, Frank Michael Malone, John T. Prout, Jr., Alfred J. Quinlan, John Albert Viebock, Michael Vill and Edward Walsh.

In conclusion, may I reiterate that it is not our business to find guilty or innocent the 17 men who stand accused on the charge of sedition before the bar of our Federal Courts. We have implicit confidence in the integrity of these courts. But we are grieved in so far as certain publishers have seen fit to pervert the identity of the accused, adroitly transferring the charge to the entire membership of the Christian Front and its friends. This we resent and will continue to resent because of the many sinister implications which accompany this perversion.

Therefore, despite the garbled statements contained in some newspapers last Monday relative to my position, I take my stand, not retracting one word which I have said either today or on previous occasions relative to the matter of a Christian Front and to the principles which should characterize its membership.

Long live Christ the King! God save the Constitution!

For us who believe in the principles of Christianity there is no retreat; for us there is no compromise; for us there is no white flag of surrender!

Long live Christ the King! God save the Constitution!